NATO's murderous air raids over Yugoslavia prove that imperialism always leads to war. This particular war is primarily a struggle to control the vast oil wealth of the Caspian Sea region. Clinton and other NATO bosses say they're bombing Yugoslavian workers back to the stone age for "humanitarian" reasons. That's a "big lie" worthy of Hitler. NATO's first two weeks of bombing forced hundreds of thousands to become refugees. The last four weeks have more often openly targeted civilians, destroyed cities and leveled Yugoslavia's infrastructure. This may be the first war in history with almost no military casualties.

Why Are They Bombing Yugoslavia?

The war is taking place because the Balkans are strategically crucial to the transportation and military defense of oil. Oil remains the lifeblood of modern capitalist industry. Oil that reaches Europe must be shipped through the Balkans. Trillions of dollars in profits are at stake. As *Challenge* has repeatedly pointed out, a great race is on to build and control the pipelines through which Caspian oil will flow. How will it get beyond the western coast of the Black Sea? U.S. companies want pipelines that don't go through Russia or Russian client states. But, Russian bosses are fighting for their own control of this oil.

From the imperialists'point of view, the clock is ticking. The U.S. has a trans-Balkan pipeline project from Bourgas in Bulgaria to Vlore in Albania. It

against the menace of communist revolution embodied by the once-socialist Soviet Union and, later, Red China. NATO could never have launched this war over Yugoslavia while Stalin led the Soviet Union. But these threats to the imperialists have disappeared, because socialism's internal flaws led to the restoration of full-blown capitalism. Now Russia and China are imperialist powers themselves, with a long-range goal of replacing U.S. domination.

For the time being, revolutionary class struggle is very weak, and no rival imperialist power, including Russia and China, is strong enough to challenge the U.S. on the battlefield. Therefore, at the moment, despite their many internal divisions and weaknesses, U.S. rulers can literally get away with murder. If part of their "collateral damage" in Yugoslavia involves blowing up the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, the most the Chinese can do is threaten to hold up a Russian-brokered deal for a cease-fire in Yugoslavia. Perhaps they'll derail this deal, but they still don't have the strength to take on the U.S. military—for now.

The most the Russians can do is score political

Representatives (the union's governing body) will be a fight. Hopefully we can use that opportunity to bring more information about capitalism's murderous drive for oil profits to more teachers.

When we brought the resolution to the Manual Arts union meeting the next day, some people groaned, while others were glad. The political struggle that these resolutions require has helped broaden the discussion at school. The war in Kosovo, the role of religion, Palestinian refugees, U.S. genocide in Central America and many other topics are hotly debated at least one table in the lunchroom every day. When people asked, "What can we do about this?" it led to discussions about the need to build a mass movement for communist revolution.

A teacher at another school asked us for 15 Challenges to use in his classroom, and then gave us $20 for May Day expenses. Other teachers have sought out our opinion about Kosovo, and asked us for materials. Students and teachers are reading and discussing Challenge, as well as the PLPleaflets distributed weekly in front of school. All this has created an atmosphere in which U.S. policy is debated and challenged in many classrooms. These discussions are helping bring more students, parents, and teachers to May Day.

CREATE MASS STRUGGLE AND DEBATE

The resolution condemning the U.S./NATO bombing of Yugoslavia that our comrades raised and got passed in the LA teachers union is an example for

es' line uncritically and justified the NATO bombing. But now this view is beginning to change.

On the first day of the bombing, teachers' union leaders--AFT President Sandra Feldman and NEA President Bob Chase--sent a letter to President Clinton "on behalf of three million American teachers fully supporting" the NATO bombing of Serbia, and decrying the murder of several dozen ethnic Albanian teachers.

We spent most of our Party teachers' study group talking about Caspian Sea oil, the history of Yugoslavia and reading the *Challenge* editorials, so we would feel confident to discuss the situation with other teachers and students.

On April 7th, we went to the Central Area meeting comprising teacher reps from Manual Arts and one other high school and its feeder elementary and middle schools. We brought the union presidents' letter and a resolution condemning the bombing of Serbia, pointing out that the real reason for the bombing was the fight for control of Middle Eastern and Caspian Sea oil. We said it's our students who would die in a larger ground war, and urged Presidents Feldman and Chase to refrain from such statements in the future.

Manual Arts in particular, and the Central Area in general, have been the center of opposition to the union leadership. Teachers in PLP, as well as other activists, have participated in the area assembly for many years. At the area meeting, the resolution was passed virtually without debate. Some people thanked us for raising it. The only opposing votes were entered privately, after the resolution had passed unanimously. Too bad. We would have welcomed the opportunity to further expose capitalism, where the thirst for oil profits leads to mass murder.

To bring the motion to the floor of the House of

and diplomatic points. Despite Yeltsin's sabre-rattling, they too aren't yet ready for a full-blown confrontation with the U.S. And although other NATO bosses have major economic and political conflicts with U.S. rulers, NATO is still more or less united in dropping its killer bombs on the Yugoslav working class.

However, appearances aren't everything. Beneath the U.S.' seeming strength, the fires of much sharper conflict are gaining strength. This war has exposed U.S. bosses as giants with feet of clay. All their air power hasn't toppled a tin pot dictator like Milosevic. In fact, he's basically won hands down on the ground and made an eventual, much wider land war for Kosovo inevitable. The war has also sharpened the contradictions between U.S. and Russian imperialism, helping the Russians emerge as the big political winners. It has intensified the rivalries within NATO. For example, the bombing of bridges in Novi Sad has badly hit trade planned through the grand canal between the Danube and Rhine rivers.

Obviously, this doesn't appeal to German bosses, who intend to incorporate Croatia and Slovenia into their new empire—"The Fourth Reich." One of the current war's ironies is that until recently, the main NATO military spokesman was German General Klaus Naumann, who paraded in his black uniform boasting that the bombs would make Milosevic the "ruler of rubble" (*AP*, 5/2). Shades of the "good old days," when Hitler's Third Reich military machine set the standards for genocide.

Are Greater Wars, Even World War III, Possible?

So even if the present war is settled, new and far bigger wars are in the cards. Even if the current fighting doesn't lead to a confrontation between the U.S. and Russia or China, such a confrontation is building. Perhaps the next war will unleash it, perhaps the war after that. Such wars will eventually erupt because capitalism makes war inevitable. As Joseph Stalin wrote shortly after World War II, "To think that [rival imperialists] will not try to get on their feet again, will not try to smash U.S. domination and force their way to independent development, is to believe in miracles" (*Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, 1952).

Every one of these wars is an opportunity to build the movement that will one day turn the guns around and transform imperialist war into class war for communist revolution.

We communists don't believe in miracles. We know that the imperialist leopard can't change its spots. We believe in the working class's potential to rule society and in the slow, hard, uphill, every-day struggle to build our Party. Again and again, the rulers will launch their mass murders for profit. Every one of these wars is an opportunity to build the movement that will one day turn the guns around

Jackson has tight links to the Rockefeller imperialist Brookings think-tank. On December 1, 1998, he joined "the usual suspects," including AFL-CIA head John Sweeney, Hugh Price of the National Urban League, and Kweisi Mfume of the NAACP, at Brookings to announce the liberal rulers' plan for a "New Century Alliance for Social Security."µ

What We Must Try To Do

The following is an article from Challenge as an example of what PLPmembers and friends have been doing since the bombing began.

LA TEACHERS CONDEMN BOMBING OF SERBIA

LOS ANGELES, April 12 —Based on the leadership of PLP teachers here, teacher reps from Central Area schools voted to condemn the US/NATO bombing of Serbia.

Struggle has been sharp about the U.S./NATO air invasion. Early on, most teachers we talked to were comparing Milosevic to Hitler, and telling their students about "ethnic cleansing" and genocide, and the importance of living together in peace and harmony. This system cannot be reformed to be peaceful. Such a liberal approach accepted the boss-

Jesse Jackson: Yes-Man For Rockefeller Imperialist Killers

Jesse Jackson's ties to the Rockefeller interests go way back. In 1978, Laurance and Jay Rockefeller personally handed him their "Rockefeller Public Service Award." This was in recognition of his "Operation PUSH," which was mobilizing black workers to support capitalism through academic achievement, franchises (McDonald's, Coke, etc.), and entrepreneurship.

With Rockefeller foundation funding, Jackson led the campaign against recent church bombings by the open racists loyal to the Oil Patch (domestic oil producers) and isolationist wings of U.S. capitalism.

Using the fight against racism as a cover, he organized a boycott of Texaco. The real reason for this was to help Rockefeller regain control of that oil giant, when Texaco was threatening to buy Alaskan oil from Exxon's competitor BP and sell it to Japanese and Korean bosses.

This could have helped Asian bosses declare independence from the Rockefeller oil empire. This past winter Jackson (helped by Al Sharpton) led pro-Clinton, anti-impeachment rallies in Washington and on Wall Street, to defend Clinton's bombing of Iraq for Rockefeller oil interests.

The Big Lies

The NATO/U.S. imperialist warmakers have learned well from Goebbels, the Nazi Minister of Propaganda, use of the Big Lie to cover their real aims. A recent article in *El País*, Madrid (5/11), showed that covering up the facts of war has always been used by rulers in class societies. To prove his point the author first cites Thucydides, the Athenian who, 2,500 years ago, wrote a book, The History of the Peloponnesian War, and then goes on to say:

"It is being repeated over and over that Kosovo is not a war for oil, or for territories, that it is a war to defend the rights to life of two million Albanian-Kosovars. What would Thucycides have said about this? From the first pages of his class work he reminds us that already in the Trojan war Agamemnon organized and led the expedition [to Troy] because he was the most powerful ruler back then, and not because those who wanted the love of Helen were forced to war because of their pledge made to Tyndareus.

In search of what was correct, Thucydides insisted that one thing was the arguments used to explain the wars and another the actions and facts….Something very interesting in relation to the war in Kosovo is that Henry Kissinger [a leading theoretician of the Rockefeller-Big Oil wing of the U.S.] , who at the beginning was opposed to Washington sending troops to Kosovo…changed his mind once the bombing began and now says that the U.S. cannot afford to lose that war, since now what

Where And Why Kosovo?

One pipeline is due to run from Skopje to Kosovo. Kosovo itself also has strategic military value to U.S. imperialism. Journalist Diane Johnstone writes: "Thanks to Kosovo, the U.S. can control eventual Caspian oil pipeline routes between the Black Sea and the Adriatic, and extend the European influence of favored ally Turkey" (Special (extra) "Znet Commentary," 3/24). But defining the protection of U.S. oil interests and U.S. superpower status against Russia et al. as a strategic interest, isn't the same as getting the job done. Clinton's bloody Kosovo failure so far is proving this. It may become one of U.S. rulers' "worst foreign policy flops since World War II" (Walter Russell Mead, "LA Times," 4/4).

The Clinton White House's tactic was designed to keep Albanian Kosovars in Kosovo to cripple Russian pal Milosevic, to strengthen NATO, to stabilize the Balkans and to keep U.S. ground forces out of combat. So far, the results don't seem to be working. In barely a week, the bombings have helped Milosevic drive a half-million Albanian Kosovar workers into the worst European refugee crisis since World War II. Milosevic appears stronger. There is

is at stake is a 'self-created national interest.' As Thucydides said: '…a city (Athens) with an empire must find a reason for everything that benefits it.

"...What is a stake? Human beings or mundane powers? A moral imperative or power? Our doubts grow more when O'Shea, spokesperson of NATO, explains why food cannot be parachuted to Albanian-Kosovars wandering in Kosovo since this will be very risky for the plane pilots?"µ

CLINTON'S 'HUMANITARIAN GENOCIDE' AND ITS 'HUMAN RIGHTS' APOLOGISTS

Making war and killing workers are one of the few things the imperialists can still do "efficiently." On this front, Clinton & Co. can claim some major accomplishments. They're doing a great job of committing humanitarian genocide. Their cluster bombs keep falling on civilian centers and murdering or mutilating children. Their "mistakes"—like the bombing of the village Korisa in southern Kosovo on May 13, slaughter scores of people. Their carpet-bombing of population centers in major cities destroys crucial infrastructures, forces hundreds of thousands into unemployment, and slashes vital food and water supplies. On May 18th, a NATO air raid on the industrial city of Nis cut off the main overland trade and transport link between central and south-eastern Europe. NATO is using depleted uranium bombs. The dust from such bombs is now causing an epidemic of cancer in Iraq and will surely do so in Yugoslavia.

in the streets is preparing to dress large numbers of them in body bags. Once again, as they did in Vietnam, U.S. imperialists have picked up a rock only to drop it on their own feet.

They were defeated in Vietnam, but they managed to pick up the pieces because the anti-imperialist movements around the world and in the U.S. did not become revolutionary communist movements. To smash the profit system and place power in the hands of the working class we need a Party committed to organizing precisely for that goal. This must be the main lesson we draw from the gathering storms of war. Imperialism makes war inevitable. We see this every day. Such wars also give our class and our Party wide opportunities to sharpen the struggle against the warmakers.

"Oil in the ground or under the sea is one thing. Building the infrastructure to refine and transport [it] is another….The oil that reaches Europe over land has to go through the Balkans…Russian, Bulgarian and Greek companies are building [a 200-mile] oil pipeline [to] supply one-quarter of Europe's need. Greece and Macedonia are also planning a 186-mile crude oil pipeline."

So U.S. is bombing Yugoslavia to prevent Russian and other oil companies from replacing Exxon & Co. as Europe's major suppliers.

internal friction in NATO. Every Balkan country is now threatened by imperialism, civil war and/or occupation which could spread to Greece and Turkey. And Milosevic & Co.'s seeming ability to resist the bombing attacks may make one of two scenarios likely. Either one will be a serious defeat for U.S. imperialism.

One possibility is that the pro-"ground-war-now" faction of U.S. rulers will win out, and the U.S. will have to invade Kosovo and/or the rest of Serbia. Forty thousand Serb troops are dug in throughout Kosovo. Dislodging them will take five times that number, and victory is far from certain. Heavy U.S. casualties would surely result. Greek bosses have refused to allow their territory for use as a staging point for such an invasion. So it would have to be done from the ground, via Albania, where an advance guard of "humanitarian" Apache army attack helicopters (a ground war weapon) and 2,000 U.S. ground troops are already in place.

Another possibility is a Russian-brokered deal that would divide Kosovo between Milosevic and U.S. allies. A divided Kosovo would do nothing to settle U.S. rulers' oil rivalry with the Russians and would ironically hand the Russian rulers a major political victory-another catastrophe the Clinton gang wanted to avoid. This scenario would only postpone U.S. involvement in a ground war.

As we have often said, U.S. working class troops' political commitment to imperialism is shaky at best. They can quickly see that the same society whose racist cops gun down their brothers and sisters

NATO chum Agim Ceka has just been named head of the “Kosovo Liberation Army” gangsters. While the U.S. and German bosses looked the other way, he recently helped Croatian fascists expel 300,000 Serbian workers from Croatia. This atrocity paved the way for Milosevic’s retaliation in Kosovo. So everything U.S. rulers touch turns to blood. They’re perfecting the skills they honed in Vietnam, where they butchered 3.5 million, and in Iraq, where nearly a million have died since “Desert Slaughter” because of U.S. sanctions.

For every one of their future wars, Clinton’s successors will have a choir of “human rights” experts, like Harold Koh, to justify their murders for profit. Formerly of Clinton’s alma mater, Yale Law School, Koh is now assistant Secretary of State for “democracy, human rights, and labor.” As the bombs were falling on Yugoslavia, Koh called a meeting of human rights experts at his State Department Office. He told them to celebrate because Clinton/Albright had decided that human rights were going to serve as the pretext for the war. In return for this business break, they gave the policy a green light. To date, the “human rights” establishment, including Amnesty International, hasn’t uttered one peep of protest about civilian casualties. In fact, they enthusiastically supported the bombing from the start, even calling for “increases in military operations on the ground in Kosovo.” (*CounterPunch*, 4/7) Scratch a liberal and a fascist bleeds. Compared to these guys, Hitler’s starting to look like an amateur.µ

all of us to follow. While we won't "win" in every union, our job is to create mass struggle and debate around the major issues of war and imperialism.

Milosevic and Clinton are both fascists. Clinton is the bigger fascist. Both are products of a system of capitalist competition in crisis, hell-bent on war for control of oil routes, oil profits and the world. The union leaders and Jesse Jackson support Clinton's bombing, and the reasons for it. This debate will expose them and their pro-capitalist outlook.

In every union and mass organization, we can expose the role of the liberal misleaders, and link every contract struggle, the fight against fascist Workfare/slave labor, racist genetic violence research, plant closings, police terror and more, to the crisis of capitalism and the drive to world war. In unions, churches, PTA's, and student organizations, we must raise the struggle against imperialism and build a mass base for communist revolution. This is how we can make communist ideas mass ideas.

competes directly with a Russian-Greek-Bulgarian pipeline from Bourgas to Alexandropoulos in Greece. But this is just the beginning. There's also talk of pipelines from oil-rich Rumania to Trieste on the Adriatic. They would have to cross Yugoslavia. And oil and gas pipelines already exist from Russia into Croatia and Yugoslavia.

For centuries, Kosovo itself has been a critical corridor for trade, and now for the oil route between Europe and the Middle East. A pipeline there, in addition to existing truck and rail roads, would net a fancy piece of change. Military bases in Kosovo will become necessary for defending oil wealth from the air and controlling it on the ground. Remember that NATO has already turned Bosnia into a protectorate, with tens of thousands of troops (including 30,000 from the U.S.).

So the refugees Clinton's "humanitarian" bombs are forcing into exile are "pawns in a wider scheme aimed at extending NATO's influence into the Caspian Sea oil fields" (James Ridgeway, *Village Voice*, 5/5). That's the bosses'key motive for the present slaughter.

But how come they're able to get away with it?

Since the collapse of the old communist movement, worldwide imperialism, headed by the U.S., hasn't had to face an armed, organized class enemy. NATO arose mainly as an alliance of rival bosses who could overcome their differences to unite